

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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Oct 23 9 53 PM '62

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Origin  
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Index

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SAL

AF

ARA

EUR

FE

NEA

IO

P

USIA

NSC

INR

CIA

NSA

OSD

ARMY

NAVY

AIR

RMR

ACTION: 736 ALL POSTS EXCEPT ~~BUCHAREST~~ BUCHAREST, BUDAPEST, PRAGUE, SOFIA, MOSCOW, WARSAW

Following is condensed version of Secretary's informal and extemporaneous remarks at meeting of Ambassadors of other than allied and Bloc nations at Department evening of October 22. Though not at this time authorized for press release or verbatim transmittal to governments, you may use this summary freely in discussions with officials and as background information with press. Pass Consuls as appropriate.

I would like add certain comments on matters not in President's speech. First, this is not election matter in U.S. Issues which have been raised in past week or ten days have nothing to do with known attitude of American people and of other peoples in this hemisphere to regime in Cuba. These issues have most far reaching effect on entire international situation and are of gravest possible importance. This development of missiles in Cuba is major departure in Soviet policy and action. It reflects decisions which necessarily were taken several months ago. This is first time Soviet Union has placed such missiles outside Soviet Union itself. This is attempted major projection of Soviet military power into Western Hemisphere despite fact Western Hemisphere has been united by a security pact fully publicized, geographically delineated, and supported by all nations of hemisphere.

One may

Drafted by:

G:WGHackler:nlh 10/23/62

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

G - U. Alexis Johnson

Clearances:

S/S - Mr. Grant

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One may ask, "What is connection if any between these particular missiles and similar missiles in three of fifteen NATO countries?" On this point it is necessary go back to 1957 for in that year Soviet Union announced on one side it was equipping its armed forces with a full range of nuclear missiles and on other side it demanded there be no nuclear weapons in Western Europe. Very limited number of these missiles in three NATO countries compares with hundreds of such missiles now in Soviet hands in its own territories aimed at Western Europe itself. This is problem of disarmament between NATO and the Warsaw Pact and it is not related to special problems of Western Hemisphere or projection of these missiles into Western Hemisphere.

We are deeply puzzled why Soviet Union has embarked upon policy so dangerous and so reckless to peace of world. It is inconceivable to us how Soviet leaders could have made so gross an error of judgment with respect to our necessities, our strength or our will. If we seem to be pointing finger at Soviet Union rather more than at Cuba it is because we consider Cuba to be victim of this situation. Our information is that on these sites, certain ones of which have been shown to you, Cubans are not permitted to be present. Soviet guards bar this area not only from Cuban civilians, but from Cuban military.

Out of deference to you and to complete independence of your great countries, I shall not attempt to persuade you to see it our way because this situation is one which causes each nation, yours as well as ours, to look deeply at its own fundamental commitments and to decide what its attitude is to be. This is not problem of balancing off one or the other. This requires each of us to look at this situation in terms of national purposes, ~~the~~ rational commitments, national interests

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interests in kind of world in which we are to live. I suggest to you one of issues involved here is independence of states.

In 1946, United States did not have any allies with whom we had aligned ourselves with respect to Soviet Union. Our allies in that year were those with whom we were associated in defeat of Nazi Germany and militarist Japan. In 1946 we had not one division in army ready for combat. No air group in Air Force ready for combat. We were trying in Baruch Plan to eliminate nuclear weapons completely and forever even though United States emerged from World War II with monopoly of such weapons. Our defense budget moved below 10 billion dollars in 1947. Now why has it been that since 1946 we have found ourselves with 42 allies and our defense budget has moved above /above 50 billion dollars? The reason is to be found in careful study of agenda of UN since 1946; in those acts of pressure and of aggression which have filled the pages of UN records in this period. While wholeheartedly trying to make UN work, we have been compelled to arm ourselves and to deal with these threats in more than one part of world, ~~Greece~~ Greece, Czechoslovakia, Berlin Blockade, Korea, etc. The statistical chart on the rise of the U.S. defense expenditures coincides very closely with agenda of the UN. This is not one sided argument that I am putting to you because there is proclaimed doctrine for a world order of different sort than that represented by the United Nations. Attempts to give effect and reality to that proclaimed doctrine is what is meant by the "cold war". If we have 42 allies, it is because we felt it necessary to join with them to insure independence of states. If I were to be asked what our primary interest is in so-called unaligned countries, it would be independence of states. There are not three sides but only two

on issue

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on issue as to whether world of future is to be world outlined in United Nations Charter or some other kind of world. This is suggestion I make as an American who was present in 1945 at birth of Charter, and who lived through this period of which I have been speaking in intimate association with work of UN.

Obviously, you want to know what happens next. The President fully disclosed what is presently on our minds -- great deal of course depends upon attitude and reaction of Soviet Union and Cuba, and President intimated that we cannot ourselves tell what events may bring. We do hope Soviet leaders who made great error of judgment will find way to pull back and to get back on track of peaceful settlement of issues and disputes, but I would not be candid and I would not be fair with you if I did not say that we are in as grave a crisis as mankind has been in and this deeply affects the lives and fortunes and the futures of all of you. We shall try to keep you informed. We deeply regret necessity of having to disclose to world information which carries with it such great possibility for disaster.

I might add just one footnote on a point on which we are not going to be reticent. It is obvious that when certain types of information became available we went over Cuba and had a look. States of this hemisphere cannot accept secrecy in this hemisphere on matters of such overriding importance. We are determined that obsession with secrecy which so far has blocked so much hope in disarmament field will not be imported into this hemisphere. End.

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 Oct 23 9 57 PM '62

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Origin: **ACTION: Amemb-a-gy**  
 G **BUDAPEST** 167  
 Info: **BUCHAREST** 119  
**PRAGUE** 238  
 SS **SOFIA** 139  
 SP **MOSCOW** 988  
 L **WARSAW** 571

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RMR

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